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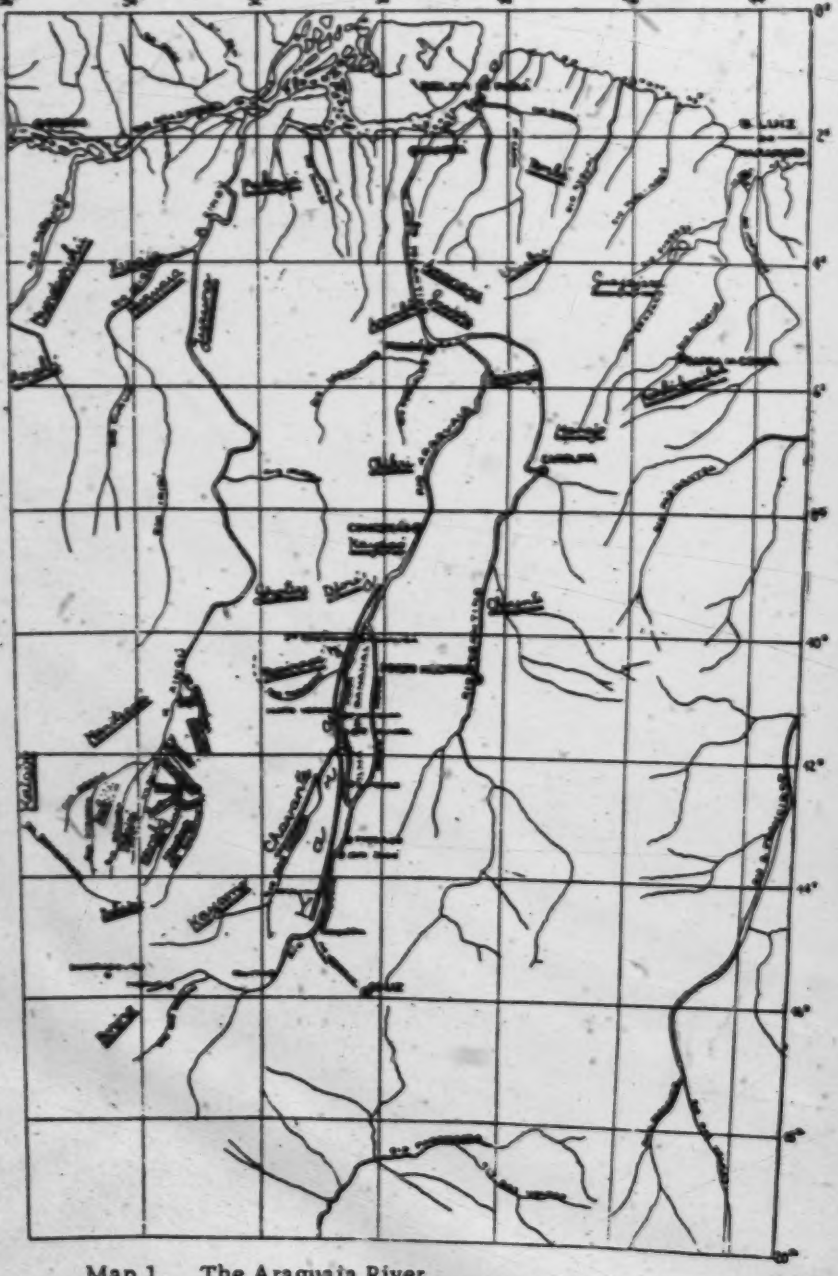

Map 1. The Araguaia River

1: Baldus--5 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[MAP 2]

Map 2. The Tapirapé River.

Chapter 2

[98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians. They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

103 I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tamputáua and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

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● 161 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
501 Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[137] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos sêcos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

173 The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihaufua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

•101 In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
171 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
302 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

301 According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
237 (aviõ, aviũ) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

114 591 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

171 361 [111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that 171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the 342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house 171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana 345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

●[101] 171 513 [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi family as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos 114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270; 171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to 513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe
•[101] than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

171/411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This
[314] piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[237] The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.° 3, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.° 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's moiety groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatxiru* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus. 1937. "Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p.61]

[p.60 blank]

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
476
264
551 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũ̃na, Maniitivuéra, Kãũmanõ̃, Tãũaupéra, Ampirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupãũa. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũ̃nã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vuaiki tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupãũa designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũa"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement

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574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171 The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means
"fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to
the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tatáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that
everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to
a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
173 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũãna. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also
became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a conse-
quence my own relatives, although absent, had also become
Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
574
[608] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group com-
panions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never
join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from
birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group
organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big
kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly
was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was
warm and so good that I ate my fill.

648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapó are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in [726] Chavante territory. Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitáua, as I shall mention later.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

823 772 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

● [101]

773 "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.

776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura

776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live

[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after

[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. Periqúe during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura viridata*. *Mutum*: *Crax fasciolata*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [856] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. [302] For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [462] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [283] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [237] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed before [237] hand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
122 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
123 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of
881 Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
122 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-
123 like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone
[501] was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

Charles Wagley

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

/341 cont./

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2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕză) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T
[101]
but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Savajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

/403 cont./
T 175 114 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 13 [101] The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ūŏhŭ) live six to nine days' journey in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their villages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers. They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

T 105

C [879]

C T [439]

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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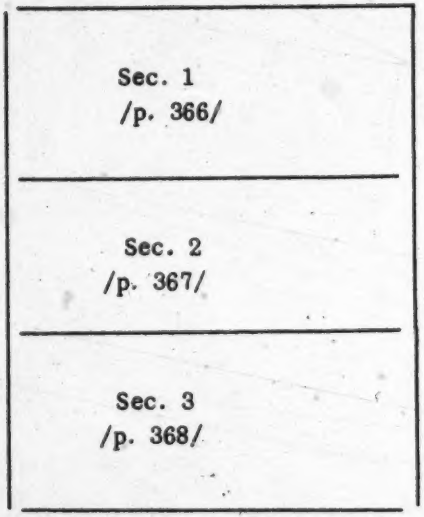

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

CT
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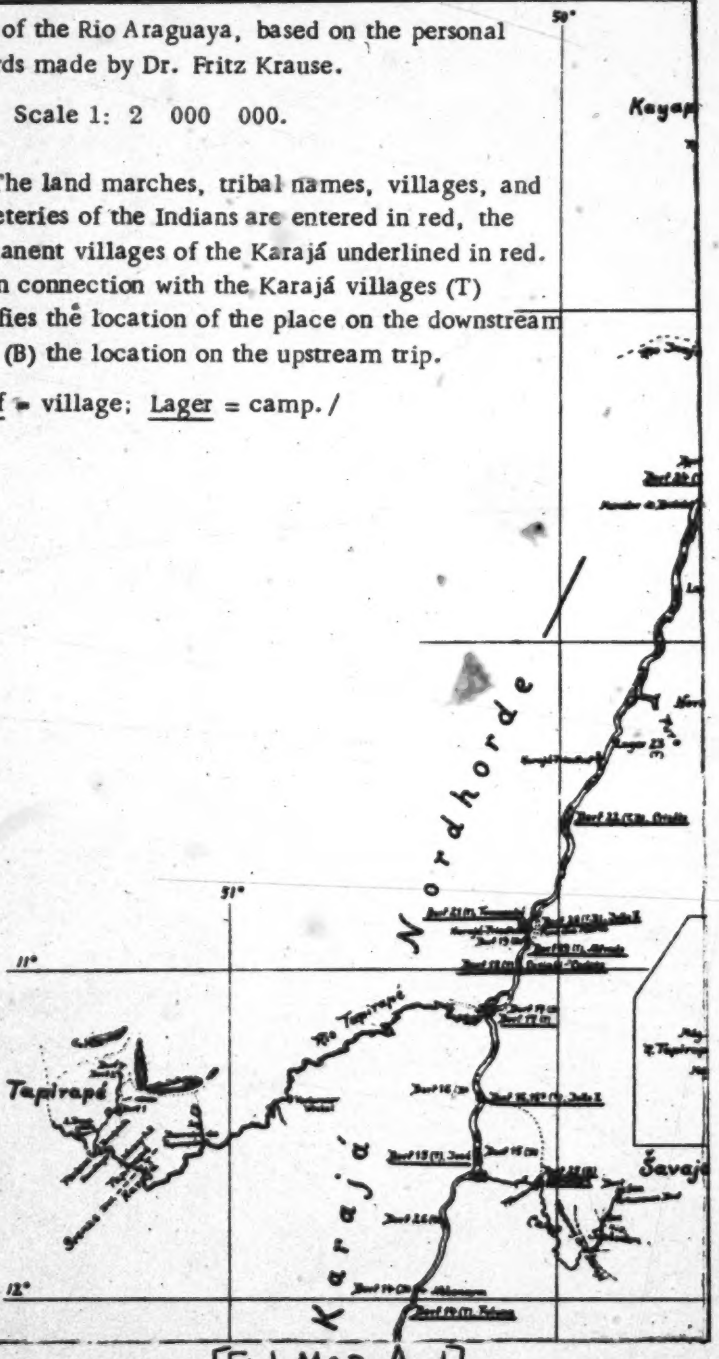
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirapé SP22

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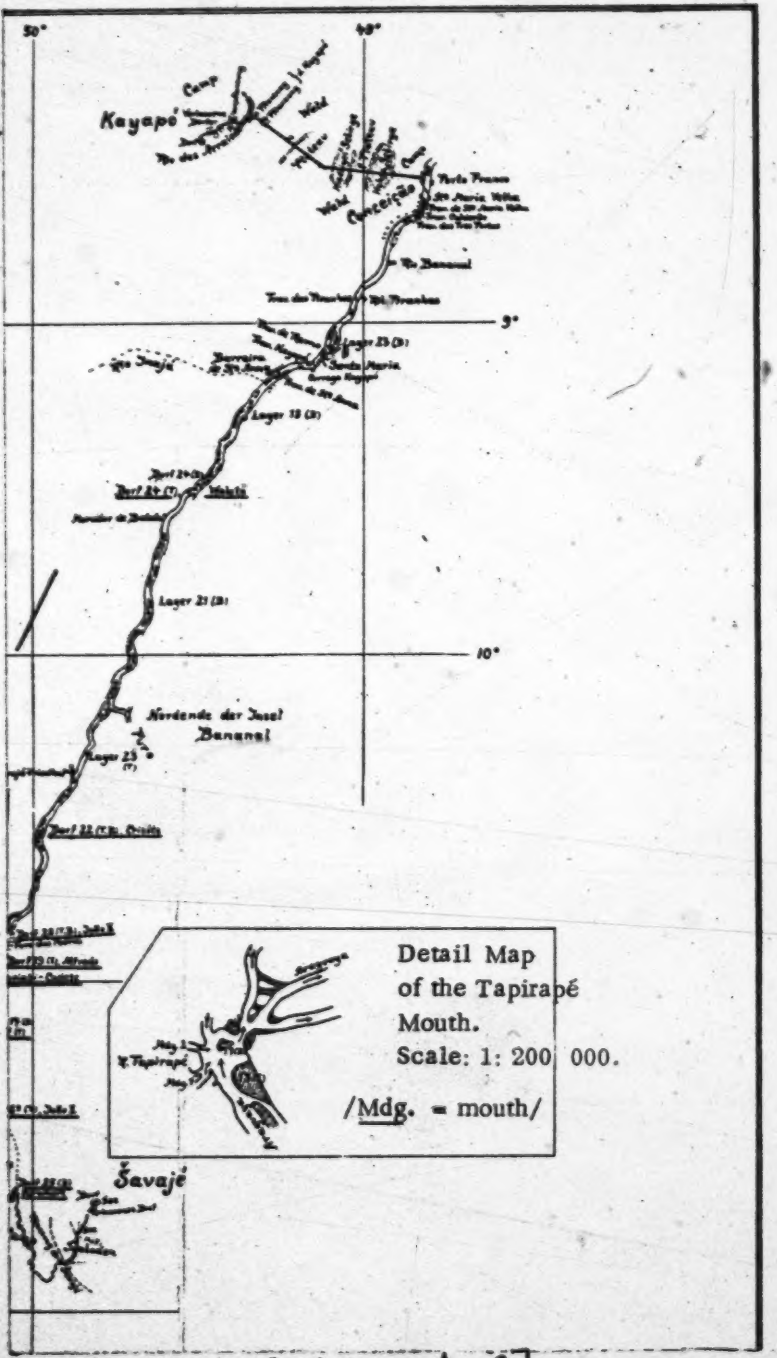
361



[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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103
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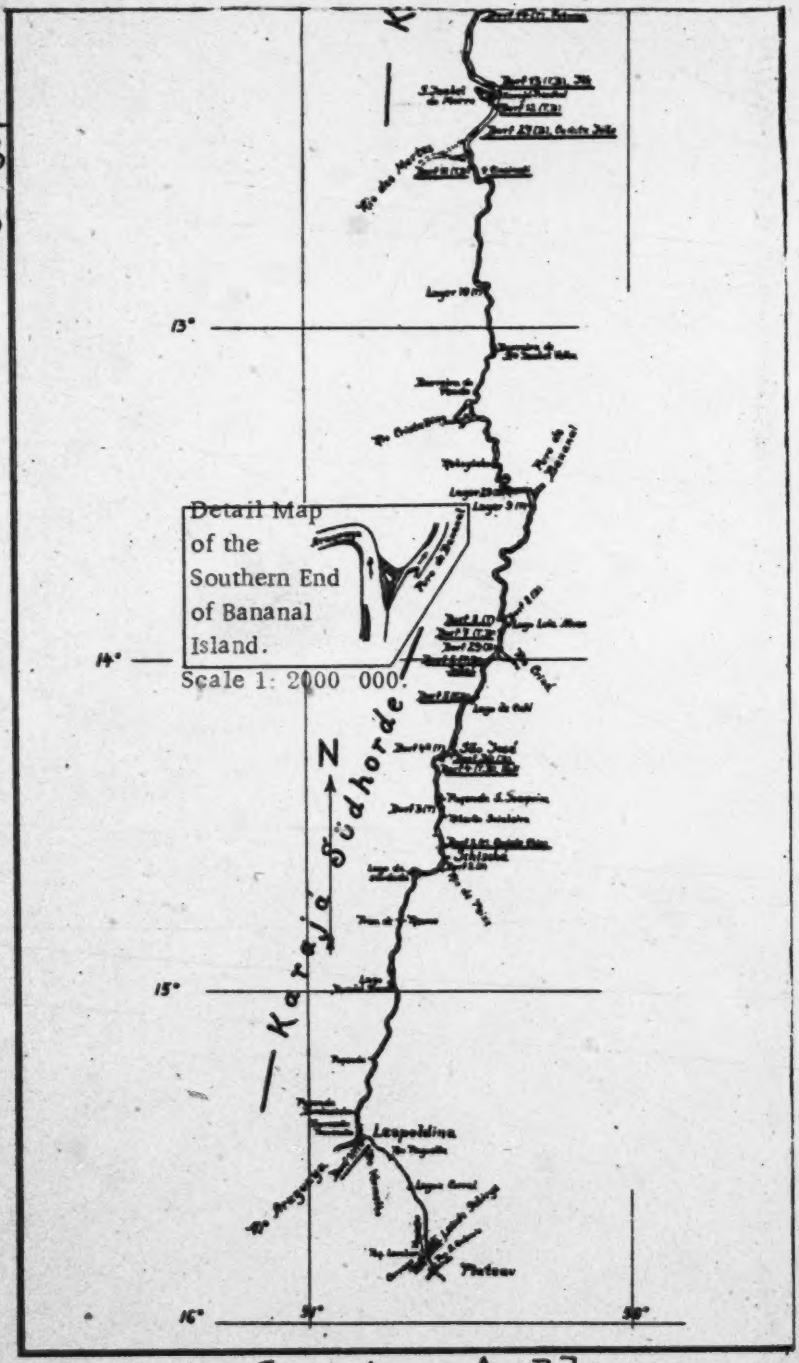
133
361



[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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C
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102
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103
131
133

SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
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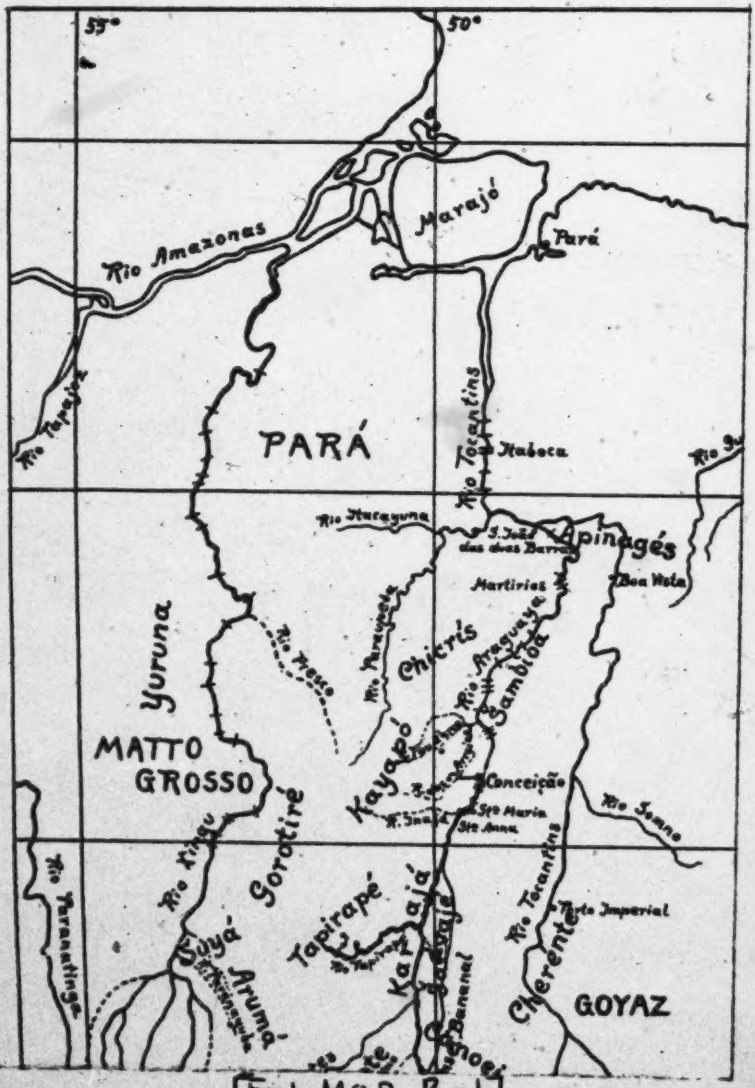
133

Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.


55°
50°
Rio Amazonas
Marajó
Pará
Rio Tapajós
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Rio Itaboca
Rio Xingu
Rio Iriri
Rio Maecuru
Rio Nhamundá
Rio Trombetas
Rio Nhamundá
Rio Jamundá
Rio Nhamundá
Rio Nhamundá
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5. Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

BCT
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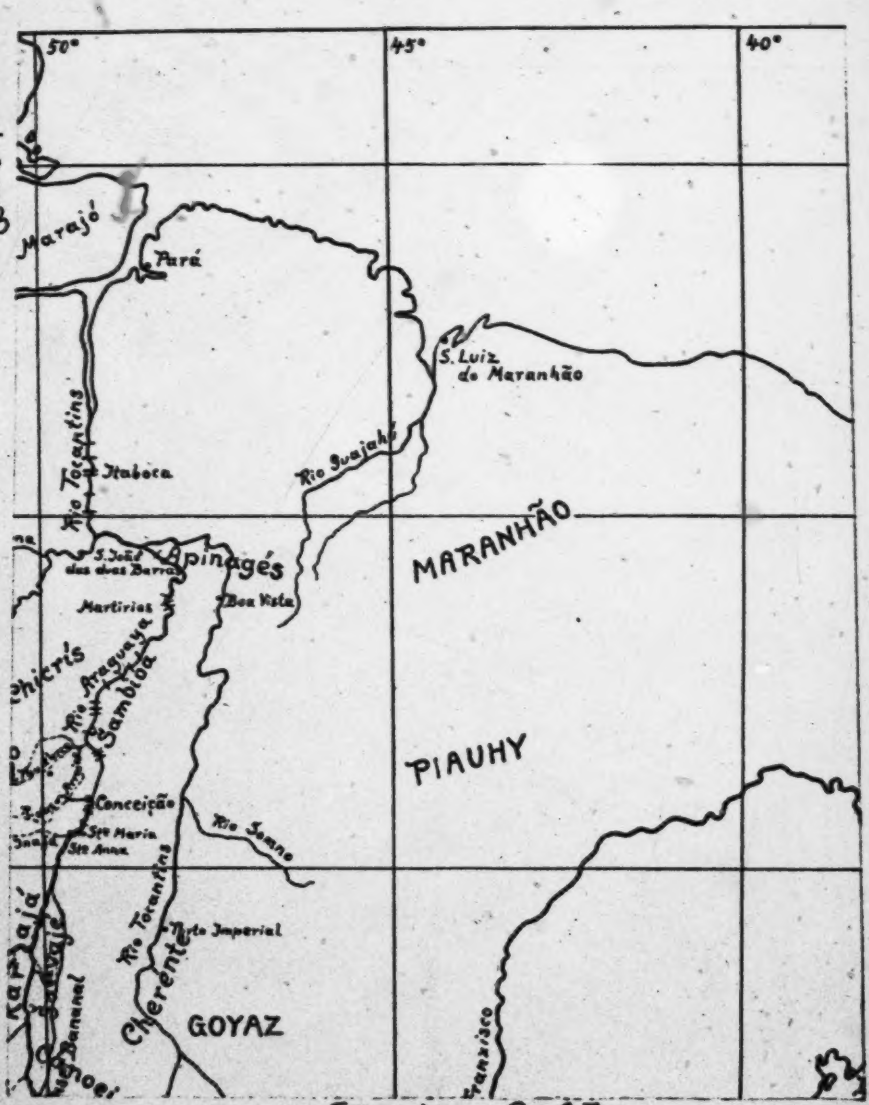

[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bototo SP8

Tapirape SP22

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101
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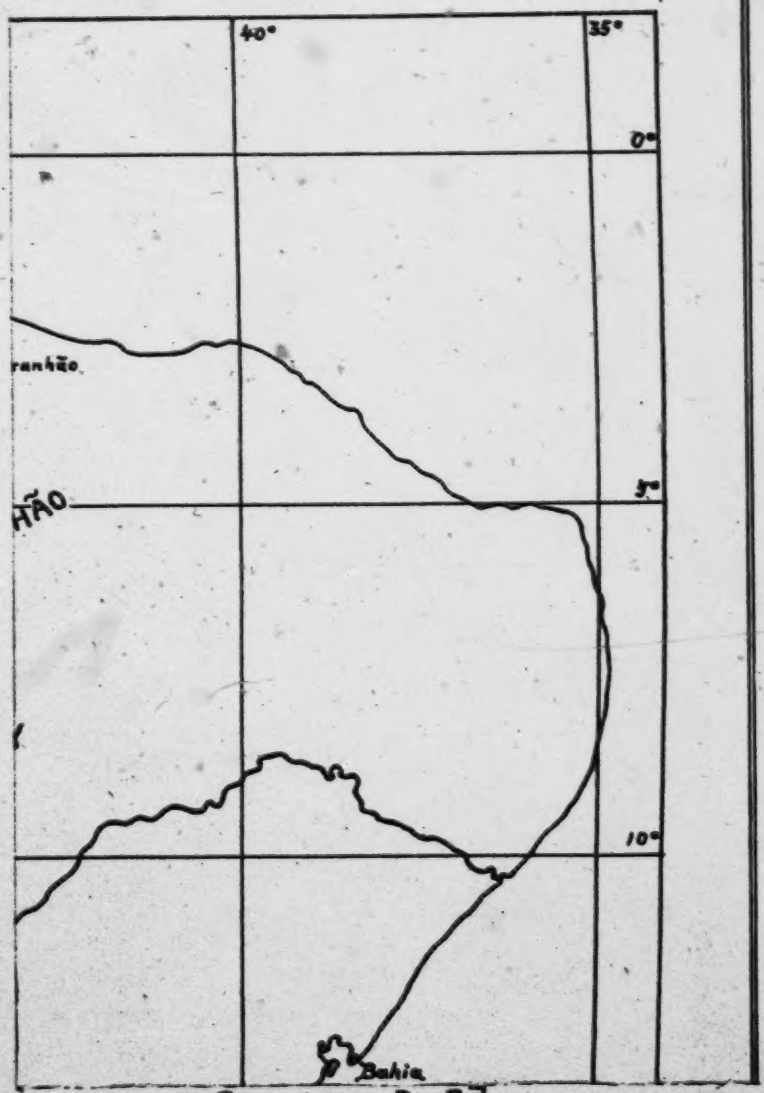
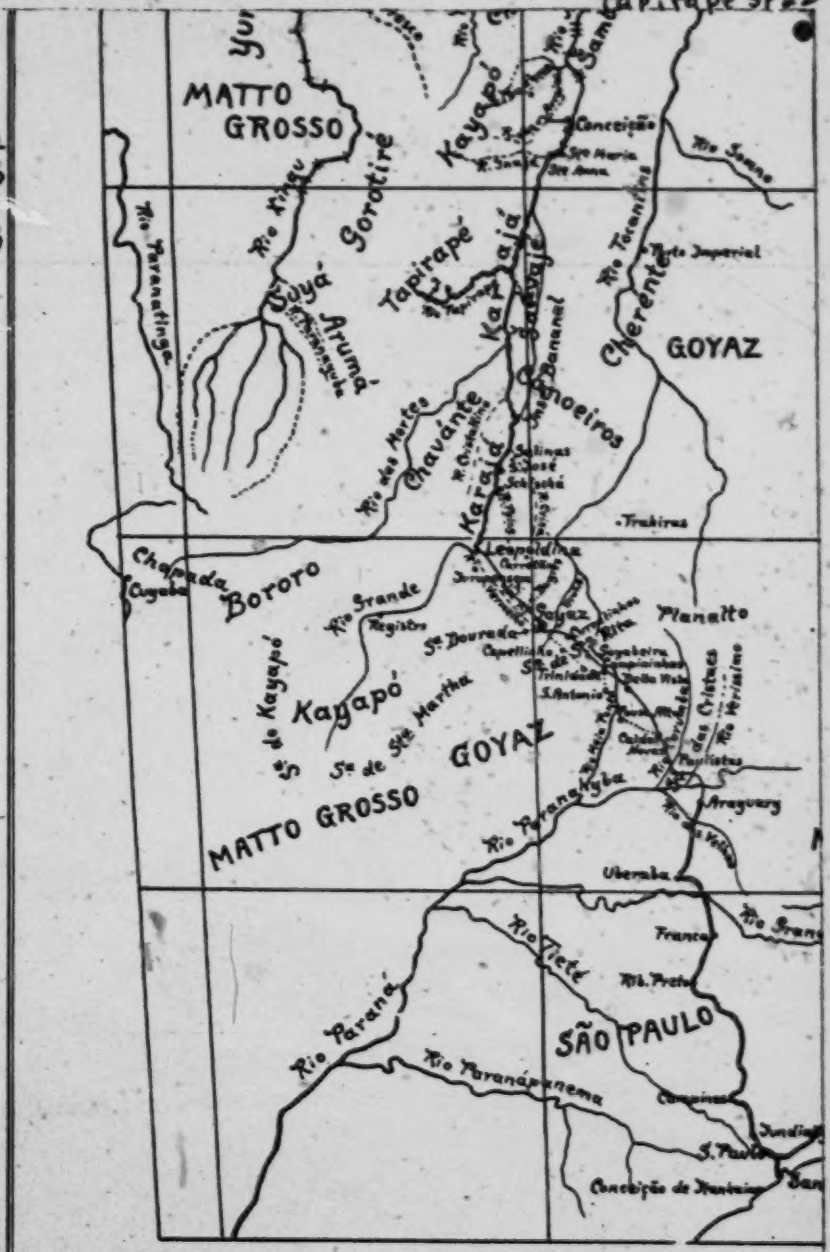


[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Bororo SP8 Tapirape SP22

BCT 101 102 103 131 133



The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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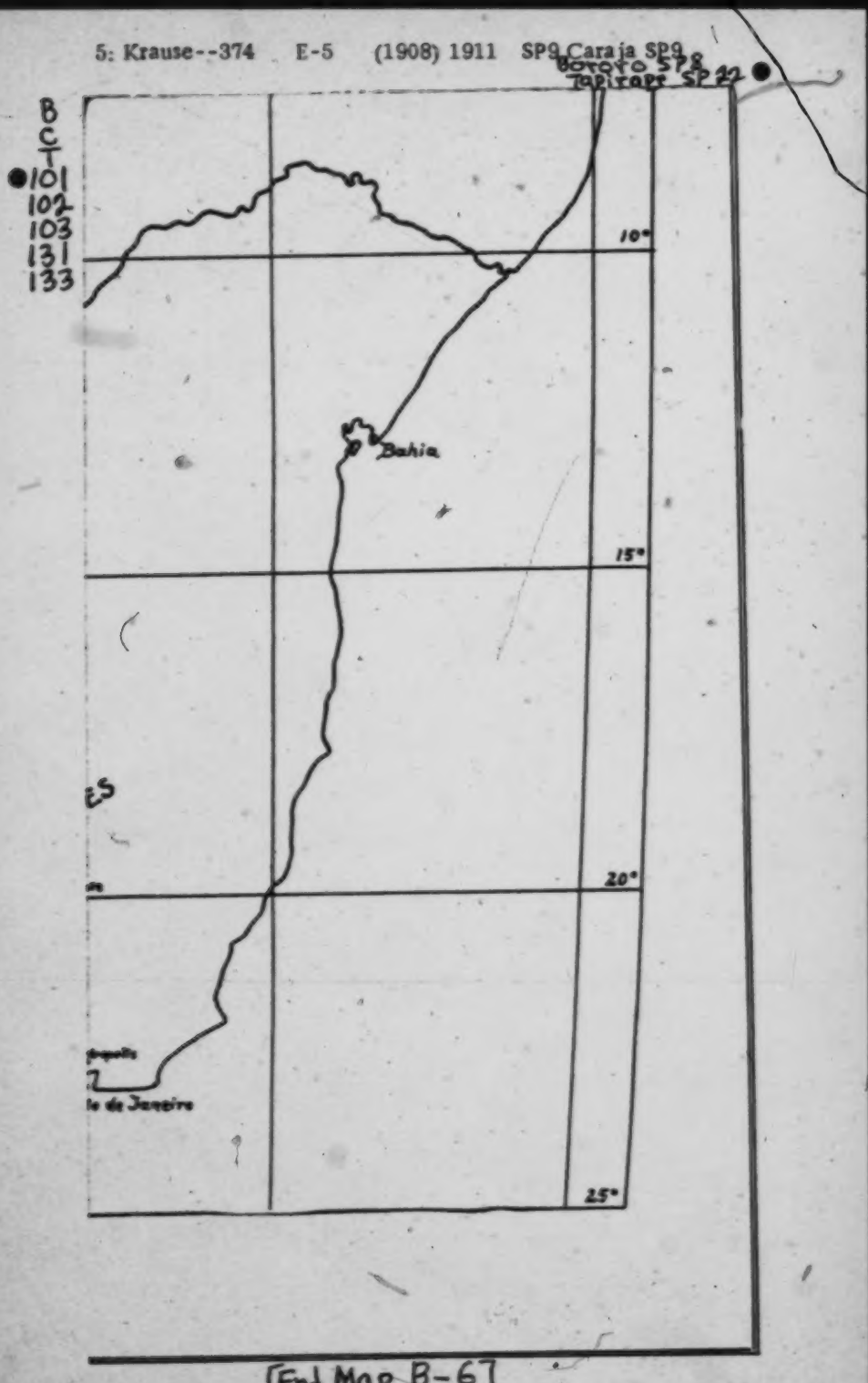
133

[End Map B-5]


5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bototo SP8
Tapirapé SP 27
BCT
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10°
Bahia
15°
20°
25°

[End Map B-6]